

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVII

April, 1924

No. 2



The ship *Narragansett* of Providence, Capt. John Edmonds. (See v XVI, p. 20.)

From a painting in the possession of Mrs. John G. Edmonds

\$3.00 per year

Issued Quarterly

75 cents per copy

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HOWARD W. PRESTON, *President* EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., *Treasurer*
GEORGE T. SPICER, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

William Goddard and Some of his Friends*

BY LAWRENCE C. WROTH.

It is not necessary to relate in detail the life of William Goddard to an audience composed mainly of residents of Providence. It is my purpose, therefore, to speak only of those activities of his turbulent early years by reason of which he most deserves to be remembered, and of those services to his nation and to his craft for which in his lifetime he was never paid in money or position and for which in the century since his death, his memory has never received its meed of honor. Almost any military personage of his generation is considered of sufficient

*Read at a meeting held in the John Carter Brown Library on November 22, 1923. For a more extensive treatment of William and Mary Katherine Goddard see the writer's *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, Baltimore, 1922, pages 119 to 146, in which is given in the notes a list of references to the sources of information drawn upon for facts contained in the sketch presented herewith. *

importance to be commemorated in bronze or in marble, but neither in Providence nor elsewhere does there stand a memorial to the man who, single-handed and of his own initiative, established the United States Post Office, and who by the exercise of a sort of divinely foolish courage asserted the right of the newspaper to express itself contrary to the will of the people. Even if these services were not in themselves of sufficient merit to receive our acclamation, there would still remain the fact that this provincial journalist possesses a peculiar attraction for those of us who, like old Thomas Fuller, are delighted with the prospect of man's diversity:—at times, harsh and cruelly satirical, again, as Isaiah Thomas wrote, "a remarkably pleasant companion," always a vivid and courageous personality, he succeeded in investing his actions with that flavor of the unusual which acts as salt on the tongue of our interest.

After the failure and temporary cessation of his *Providence Gazette*, William Goddard spent seven busy and unhappy years in Philadelphia as the editor and part owner of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, an experience which resulted in his financial ruin and in an embroilment with his associates which embittered the best years of his life. The story of his Philadelphia period, as related by him in that remarkable pamphlet, *The Partnership*, is something that we are content to forget, for after all, in spite of the ill usage which he met with at the hands of his pious associates, his own lack of restraint in the conduct of his affairs at this time appreciably cools the sympathy which we should extend in like case to one who had better learned to control his spirit. A very young man, smarting from his wounds, harassed by debt and difficulty, he waged his battle with so much passion, with such premeditated design to humiliate as well as to wound his enemies, that we turn with relief from the unpleasant struggle. The capacity for hatred which he displayed at this time had been perceived as one of his faults and reproofed as such early in his Philadelphia sojourn by his wise and gentle mother. Writing to him from Providence, where she was carrying on his printing office in partnership with John Carter, the

young printer whom he had sent to her assistance, Sarah Goddard warned her son against expending his strength in controversy. Her words are worth repeating. "Oh, my son, my only son," she wrote, "hearken to wisdom before it is too late. . . . I heartily wish it was within the reach of my faint efforts to convey to you what threescore and almost ten years of experience has taught me, of the meer nothingness of all you are disputing about . . . remember, we are not under the Old Law of Retaliation, an eye for an eye . . . for ever blessed be our gracious Redeemer who has abrogated it, and substituted a much more glorious one in its place, no less than the law of universal love." At a later time, when the struggle with his partners was at its hottest stage, this devoted woman spent in his support not only her intelligent efforts, but as well her small fortune, including even her dower rights in her husband's estate. Not the least valuable of her benefactions to him at this time, however, was the advice which he failed to heed, her insistence that he leave off pursuing shadows with the flaming sword of archangelic vengeance.

Now here is one of those ironies which life presents to us. If William Goddard had listened to his mother's affectionate counsel and so had given over beating the wind, his exceptional abilities as printer and editor would have carried him to high positions of influence and even of wealth, but on the other hand, had he acquired earlier the mastery of his spirit, it is unlikely that he would have accomplished those things for which we are praising him tonight, for when the hard white flame of his rage, which seemed ignoble in a private quarrel, was turned against the public enemy, it achieved for the good of the nation results which could not so quickly have been attained by the sweet reasonableness of gentler mannered men.

Leaving Philadelphia in the early months of 1773, Goddard removed to Baltimore, where on the capital of "a single solitary guinea," as he afterwards said, he established a printing office and began to issue the first newspaper to attain publication in a city just then reaching urban proportions. He promised himself and his public at this time to settle down to the

regular exercise of his functions as printer and editor, a business in the performance of which he had few equals on the continent, but fortunately for the nation he failed to fulfill this promise until many years later. After a few months of desultory attention to business he turned the establishment over to his sister, Miss Mary Katherine Goddard, and set forth on a series of journeys, undertaken, as he wrote, in the interest of "the common liberties of all America." The project which now absorbed him was the formation of the postal system from which the present United States Post Office derives its origin.

Intended in its inception simply as a private line of riders between Philadelphia and Baltimore, the plan began to enlarge itself in Goddard's mind until it became national in its scope. Since early youth he had been accumulating indignation against the British Colonial Post Office, and now that he had taken the field against it, he found that nothing would satisfy him except to render the country independent of its operations by providing in its place an equally well organized and an equally far reaching private line of his own making. Many and vigorous were his fulminations against the established system and its officials. From town to town he journeyed, advertising his proposals in the newspapers in terms unflattering to the existing organization. Hard upon the appearance of his manifesto, he would pass his subscription paper among a citizenry not always sympathetic to his designs. That he was able to overcome apathy as well as opposition bespeaks him a man of force as well as of intelligence. The story of his effort, and of its successful result, forms one of those wonder tales of the national beginnings which has not yet found its historian. In the short period of a year the "Constitutional Post Office," as it was officially styled, or "Goddard's Post Offices" as the new system was popularly called, was in operation side by side with the British Colonial Post Office from Massachusetts to Virginia. In July, 1775, the Continental Congress took over the organization as the official system of the United Colonies, and on Christmas Day, a fortnight after Maryland and Pennsylvania had forbidden the fur-

ther passage of the British post through their domains, the ministerial system withdrew its riders from the roads.

The founder of the new post office, unfortunately, was not permitted to gather the fruits of victory. At the head of the organization, the Congress placed Benjamin Franklin, and to the new postmaster general's nephew went the desirable office of secretary and comptroller. To Goddard was given the laborious and relatively unimportant position of Surveyor of the Post Office, and concealing his disappointment like a good fellow, he performed for a year without complaint the exacting and inglorious duties of his post. At the end of that period he resigned his office and petitioned Congress for a commission in the military service of the country commensurate with his merit. In his memorial, he informed the delegates that he might ask with propriety for the office of "muster-master-general," a position in which, he affirmed with charming simplicity, he would be able to repay himself the monies which he had expended in the formation of the postal system turned over to them a year earlier. He rejected with disdain, however, the thought of this post, because, to use his own words, it rendered him "less liable to those personal dangers which his natural disposition impels him to encounter," and instead of a sinecure, he asked that he might be given a commission as a lieutenant colonel in either one of two regiments of the line in which changes were about to be made. Referred to General Washington by the Board of War, the petition came back with the notation that the induction of Mr. Goddard "into the army as Lieutt. Colo. would be attended with endless confusion." From the context of the note, it is almost certain that in opposing Goddard's appointment, his Excellency was opposing not the individual case but the practise of appointing civilians to high rank in the military establishment.

At this point in the story of William Goddard it is becoming to speak briefly of two of those friends with whom he was most intimately associated during these years of struggle and of discouragement. The qualities of his mother, Sarah Updike Goddard, the daughter of Lodowick Updike of Wickford, Rhode

Island, have been suggested by a quotation from one of her letters. It was to her financial assistance and to her active practical aid that he owed his ability to establish himself in Providence, and later to maintain his Philadelphia business for four years after the support of his partners had been withdrawn from the venture. A resolute and calm woman, one suspects that beneath her restraint there smouldered some of that fire which burned so waywardly in her son. Something of a mystic in her profound religious certainty, she yet possessed that clearheadedness and sanity in the ordinary affairs of life which frequently is the mystic's portion in this inexplicable world. Of her love for this only son, her actions tell; it is pleasant to be assured of his affection for her. In a letter written a few weeks before her death, she pledged herself to unremitting attention to his interests, "in return," she wrote, "for the love and compassion you have manifested for your ancient and tender mother." There is always danger in attributing the characteristics of a community to its separate members, but one may be permitted to think that the individualism which characterized William Goddard's progress through a troubled period of his own and of his country's life was not the least of his inheritances from this Rhode Island gentlewoman.

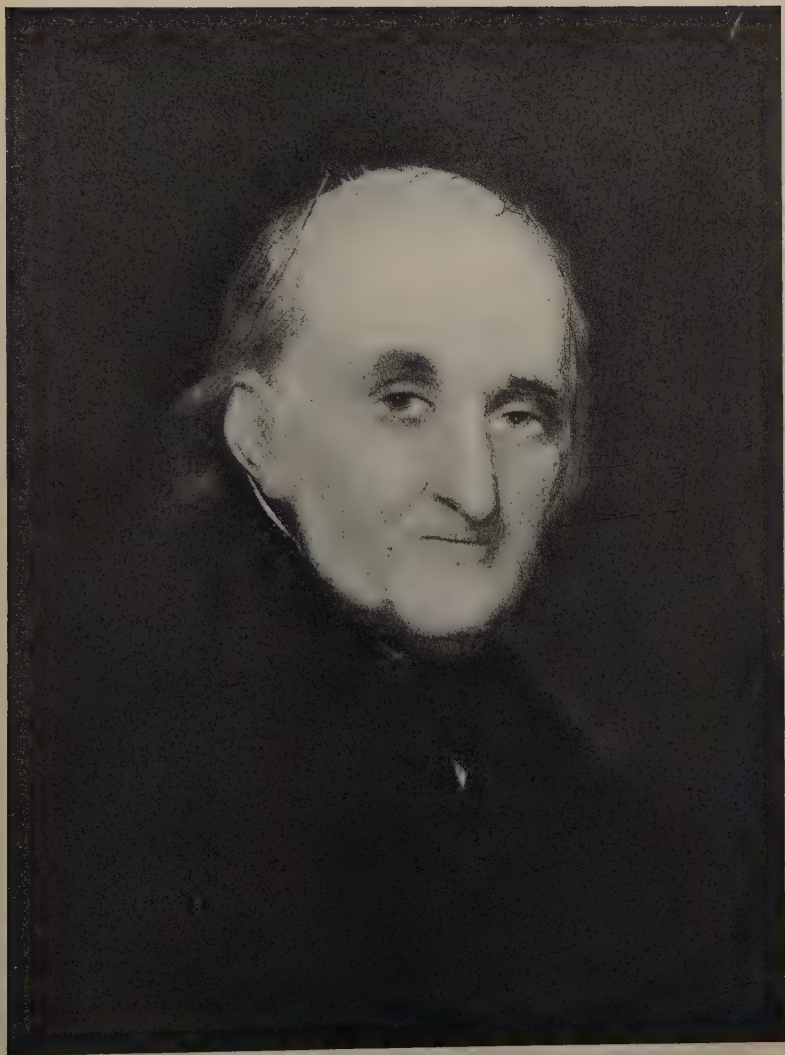
William Goddard was fortunate in the women folk of his family. Devotion from a mother is of the nature of things expected, but not every one is so happy as to have a sister willing to carry on a mother's unquestioning service and at the same time capable of giving expert professional assistance and of completely submerging her own personality. Miss Mary Katherine Goddard was one of the most conspicuously useful women of her generation in the public life of the nation. The few brief newspaper writings which bear her name, articles in most cases published in defense of her brother, give no index to her character, for the simple reason that these productions were almost certainly dictated, if not actually written, by that gentleman himself. Indeed the rays of her personality are so absorbed by his greater light that she remains for us a figure of uncertain outline. The known facts of her life, however, are

such as to permit us a somewhat prodigal use of adjectives, as when we say, for example, that she was an expert practical printer, a skillful newspaper editor, a dauntless woman in the face of difficulties, and a loyal, self-effacing servant and partner to her brother. Left in control of the *Maryland Journal* as the War of the Revolution was about to begin, she conducted her paper through the most difficult period which the American journalist has ever known almost without missing an issue, and attained for it during that period a circulation which she affirmed was as extensive as that of any newspaper in the colonies. At the termination of the War, when she might have begun to look forward to easier times, her brother came into a sum of money sufficient to enable him to resume the publication in his own name. Throughout the same period she acted as postmistress of Baltimore, a position which she held until, by a change in the organization of the department she was deprived, not quite justly, it seems, of the office which she had conducted often by the outlay of her own money. A strong, busy, self-contained woman, down through the years no word has come from her as to what she thought of it all. It is doubtful if even her immediate associates knew her feelings, unless perhaps she revealed herself to that faithful black woman under whose care she lived out her lonely days until her death in Baltimore in the year 1816. In the old burial ground of St. Paul's Parish in that city lies the body of this New England woman who served her adopted Maryland in a way and to a degree that no woman of the period served another American community.

After William Goddard's failure to obtain a commission in the army, he returned to Baltimore, where he seems to have resumed in part his interest in the *Maryland Journal*, although the paper continued to be published in his sister's name. Things went quietly enough with him until, in February, 1777, he caused to be published in the *Maryland Journal* two articles on the subject of the recent peace tenders of the British ministry. One of these, signed "Tom-Tell Truth," in a vein of the most obvious satire, advised the acceptance by the Americans of the proffered terms of peace; the other, signed "Caveto," spoke

warningly of the danger which lay even in appearing to consider them. Both of the articles were written by Samuel Chase, a signer for Maryland of the Declaration of Independence, a member at this time of the Maryland Assembly, and a person-age later famous as an impeached judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Wherever he went, William Goddard seems to have possessed a proclivity for associating either as friend or as enemy with strong minded men, and now we find him on terms of friendship with this old Roman who in later years was to be known as an "obstinate and bitterly prejudiced old Federalist," and who like his friend, Luther Martin, the "Federal Bull Dog," was "never known to be neutral in anything."

On the appearance of Chase's two articles in the *Maryland Journal*, an organization of Baltimore zealots demanded of Goddard that he disclose to them the identity of "Tom-Tell Truth," but our journalist had the merit of being as loyal in his friendships as he was unrelenting in his enmities, and his disinclination to discover the name of Chase was increased by the fact that this gentleman was not at hand to defend himself against the stupidity of those who had failed to understand his satirical article. The events which followed the demand of the Whig Club on Goddard were swift, and in their consequences for the aggressors they were something less than pleasant. When Goddard ridiculed these self-appointed censors of his press, their resentment led them to order his immediate departure from the city. To their pleased astonishment, doubtless, he obeyed literally their edict, but satisfaction was turned to discomfiture when they learned that he had chosen Annapolis as his place of exile, and that he had gone thither bearing in his hand a vigorous memorial to the Legislature. In this protest, their victim affirmed that thinking himself "bound in honor not to suffer the secrets of his press to be extorted from him in a tumultuous way," he had refused the demands of the Whig Club, and that in consequence of his refusal he had been treated by its members "with circumstances of indignity and insult, not to be patiently endured by a freeman possessed of a spark of honor



WILLIAM GODDARD

From an oil portrait by James Frothingham now in the Shepley Library

PRINTING-OFFICE, PROVIDENCE, *August 31, 1762.*

TO THE PUBLICK.

THE Colony of *Rhode-Island* from its first Institution to this present Time, has been remarkable for maintaining the Spirit of true *British Liberty*, by which means it has frequently provid a Refuge and Asylum for Strangers, who, fond of enjoying all the Privileges and Advantages of their Mother Country, prefer'd this Colony before many others for their friendly Indulgence to Strangers of every Denomination of Christians that chose to settle among them. by which judicious Conduct, they are become a flourishing People, and in which the Town of *Providence* (being the first settled Place in the Colony) has no Inconsiderable Share; to the Inhabitants of which, I in a most Particular Manner address myself, who, at the Request of many Gentlemen, have, at a very considerable Expence, procur'd a complete Assortment of Printing Materials, with which I purpose to carry on the Printing Business in this Town; provided I meet with Encouragement adequate to the Trouble and Expence of the Undertaking: And as it is universally acknowledged a Printer is much wanted in this Place, very considerable Sums being annually sent into other Governments for Printing, to the Impoverishment of this, where, if that useful Branch of Business was well establish'd here, it would be an Addition to its flourishing State, and keep its ready Cash circulating at Home, it is not doubted but every Well-wisher to the Town, will contribute towards so laudable an Undertaking, as far as the Execution of it shall merit the Approbation of the Publick: And I take this Method to solicit the Favour of the Inhabitants of this Colony; and from the same generous Disposition they have shewn to young Beginners of other Occupations, I flatter myself I shall find Encouragement answerable to my Expectations. And I beg Leave to allure the Publick, that (as far as I am engaged in their Service) I shall use my utmost Endeavours to serve them with Fidelity and Integrity; and if by my Assiduity and Care, I shall be so happy as to obtain their Esteem, by an impartial Conduct, I shall think my Time well bestow'd. I am determin'd to avoid entering into the Schemes of any Party, tending either to religious or political Controversy, so far as it might prevent my acting with the strictest Justice.

As every Branch of useful Knowledge, both of a religious and civil Nature, is abundantly diffus'd by Means of the Freedom of the Press; I hope I will induce Gentlemen of Learning and Humanity to contribute a few of their leisure Hours in writing some public-spirited Essays, for the Cause of Virtue, displaying it in beautiful Colours, and painting Vice in all its odious Deformity, which will render their Efforts beneficial to the latest Posterity; by which Method they will soon perceive, the Utility of a Printing Press: For I verily believe there is not another Town in *New-England*, of its Extent in Trade and Commerce, that remains vacant of so necessary and useful a Calling. All these Considerations give me great Reason to hope, that not only the Gentlemen of *Providence*, but all the adjacent Towns, will, with a kind and good-natur'd Reception, assist

THE PRINTER.

Gentlemen and Ladies,

AS soon as possible after my Affairs are in some Measure settled, and I am establish'd in my Business, I purpose to print a Weekly News Paper, under the Title of the *PROVIDENCE GAZETTE*, or *COUNTRY JOURNAL*, to be publish'd every *Wednesday Morning*, and to contain every Thing remarkable, both *Foreign and Domestic*; for which Purpose, I have establish'd an extensive Correspondence, and shall receive not only the *London Magazines and Prints*, but every *News-Paper* printed upon the Continent of *America*, which can't fail of rendering the *Providence Gazette*, as complete as any Performance of the Kind. The Price will be only *SEVEN SHILLINGS* Lawful Money, per Annum, or equivalent in Currency. — And altho' several judicious Men have done worthily towards so useful a Design, in a neighbouring Government, whose Performances have obtain'd a general Approbation, nevertheless it must be allowed that something of that Nature is very much wanted here, where so many and various Branches of Business are carried on, more especially that in a mercantile Way; I hope no one will imagine I mean to lessen the Esteem justly due to others, or be guilty of Vanity, in attempting to make a public Appearance in that Manner, so necessary at this juncture, when His Majesty's Arms are engaged in a just and glorious War against two of the most pernicious Nations in *Europe*, and I am perswaded every worthy and public-spirited Gentleman will promote the Circulation of it, as the Design is calculated (in a peculiar Manner) for the Interest of this Town, and all its respective Neighbourhoods. It is intended the Paper shall make its first Appearance on *Wednesday the Twentieth of October*, in Case a sufficient Number of Subscribers shall offer. — Subscriptions are taken in by *HENRY PAGET, Esq; SAMUEL CHACE, Esq; Postmaster, BENONI PEARCE, Esq; Mr. BENJAMIN WILST, Mr. KNIGHT DEXTER, Mr. EBENEZER THOMPSON, Mr. JOSEPH LAWRENCE*, and by the *Printer's*.

Devoted Humble Servant,

William Goddard,

Broadside Announcement of the Establishment of Goddard's Printing Office
in Providence and his proposals for a newspaper

The original is in the Shepley Library

or sensibility." No man was happier than William Goddard in the composition of memorials and of petitions. In its reply to this example of his stately rhetoric, the Committee of Grievances of the Lower House reported to the Assembly that the action of the Whig Club was "a manifest violation of the Constitution" of Maryland, and "directly contrary to the Declaration of Rights," a result with which the ordinary mortal would have been satisfied. But it was not so with Goddard. Once more he had found an opponent worthy of his flaming sword, and when the Whig Club issued a mild explanation of its conduct, Goddard replied to their overtures with a pamphlet entitled "*The Prowess of the Whig Club*," in which after cutting deep into the self-esteem of his enemies, he peppered their wounds with derision. As a reply to this document, the Whig Club reimposed the sentence of banishment, and as might have been foreseen, Goddard went a second time to Annapolis and the Legislature. On this occasion, Samuel Chase, the author of his troubles, assumed charge of the case for the liberty of the press. It was conducted by him with such effect that the leaders of the Whig Club were summonsed from Baltimore and compelled at the bar of the House to apologize for their turbulent actions to the Sovereign People of Maryland. The performance of this ceremony constituted a complete victory for Goddard and a practical test of that clause in the Maryland Declaration of Rights which affirmed that "the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved."

One would suppose that after this experience, in spite of his justification by the highest authority of the State, Goddard would have been slow a second time to risk the popular wrath, but again the claims of friendship and his own conception of the right of individual judgment brought him into rough contact with the populace. In June, 1779, he formed a partnership for the prosecution of the printing business with Eleazer Oswald, leaving his sister apparently in undisturbed control of the newspaper. If Miss Goddard fancied for a moment, however, that she was to be free of his dangerous participation in her affairs, she was soon to learn her error.

Eleazer Oswald, the newly constituted partner of William Goddard, was born about the year 1755 in Falmouth, England, the son of a ship captain in the Jamaica trade. Coming to America in the year 1770 with a good education and little else, he entered the printing establishment of John Holt, gained the affection of his master, and before long to the obvious satisfaction of that worthy printer, married the daughter of the house. At the first news of Lexington, he enlisted in the army and fought with distinction at Ticonderoga, and at Quebec, whither he went as a volunteer, acting as Arnold's personal secretary. In later campaigns he won the commendation of General Knox and the love of General Charles Lee. When Lee was cashiered after Monmouth, Oswald retired from the service in disgust and betook himself to Baltimore where he joined in the printing business with Goddard, whom he must have become acquainted with through their common friend, John Holt. Later, he removed to Philadelphia, and there, for a number of years, he engaged successfully in the business of printing and publishing. Like others of Goddard's friends, he was exceedingly high strung. He challenged Alexander Hamilton to a duel which was averted only by an agreement of the seconds. He sent a challenge to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, which that worthy felt himself justified in ignoring. In a duel which he fought with Mathew Carey, his fire took such effect that the Philadelphia publisher walked with a limp for the remainder of his days. In 1792, he joined the service of the French National Convention and fought, it is said, with distinction under Dumoriez at Jemmapes. Afterwards, at the behest of the Convention, he went to Ireland for the purpose of preparing the way for the French invasion, but meeting there with failure in his mission he soon afterwards returned to New York, where in the year 1795, he died of yellow fever. A picturesque and a lovable person, but certainly something of a ruffler, he was not the best associate for the excitable Goddard.

After his court-martial, Charles Lee sought a medium of publicity through which he could state his case to the American people. In June, 1779, he wrote to Goddard, with whom he

seems previously to have been acquainted, and after remarking upon the reputation which his newspapers bore for impartiality, asked him to print the defense which he was engaged at that time in preparing. With Oswald as his partner, Goddard's consent was quickly forthcoming, and on July 6, 1779, the notorious piece, "Some Queries, Political and Military," with its only half concealed malice toward Washington, was published in the *Maryland Journal*, an occurrence which once more procured Goddard the questionable distinction of a visit from the mob. He was requested to meet the next morning certain officers and citizens of the town to explain the publication and to divulge its authorship. An unfriendly witness wrote to Governor Thomas Johnson that "early in the morning (of the meeting) Goddard was seen parading the streets with a gun and his friend Coll. Oswald with a drawn Sword, venting his spleen in the most abusive language. . . ." Such conduct did little to conciliate the indignant townspeople, and in order to save his house from pillage and himself from being carted through the streets with a rope around his neck by an aggregation which he described as a "band of ruffians, composed of Continental recruits, mulattoes, or negroes, fifiers and drummers," Goddard signed and printed as a supplement to the last issue of the *Maryland Journal* a paper containing, to use his own words again, "the most ridiculous and absurd concessions." In the inevitable memorial which he now presented to the Governor, he declared that he was being persecuted because of his stand for the liberty of the press, that he had printed the "Queries" in pursuance of a conviction that it was his duty to help in the vindication of the character of General Charles Lee, a gentleman and a patriot to whom he believed a great injustice had been done by the recent court martial proceedings. To one whom he met on the Annapolis road at the time of his third rush to sanctuary, he expressed himself with his usual vigor when he vowed that he would get the redress denied him by the "rascally magistrates of Baltimore" if he had to go to the ends of the earth for it. Fortunately he was spared a longer journey for this purpose than that on which he was at the moment engaged, for again, and for the

third time, his case was upheld by the Maryland authorities, and once more as the result of this consummation, Goddard may be thought of as having vindicated the right of free discussion by the public press. The last word in the battle was his retraction in the *Maryland Journal* of the apology which a week earlier he had made under the compulsion of the mob. That he possessed the hardihood on these two occasions to support his friends and to affirm in the face of popular displeasure a principle which now is accepted as a convention in all civilized communities, is a claim on our interest and on our gratitude, and that the Maryland Legislature twice justified his stand in the face of popular disapproval is evidence of an integrity which is not as common among elective bodies in practice as it is intended to be in theory.

Whether or not Charles Lee was the traitor which we have been taught to believe him is a question which does not need to be decided or even to be discussed tonight. If we can forget this ugly stain on his reputation long enough to regard him dispassionately, we perceive that he was one of the most picturesque figures that has ever taken part in our national life, and what is of more immediate importance to us in considering him as an associate of William Goddard is the fact that he was not lacking in gratitude to the man who had risked everything in his service. In later years, in a letter to Mary Katherine Goddard, he acknowledged his debt in handsome terms: "Upon my soul," he wrote, "I love (and I ought to love) your Brother and Oswald more than any other two men on this Continent." When he died in 1783, he left to Goddard and to Oswald jointly, as a recognition of their efforts in his behalf, a large tract of western lands on which his sister paid such amounts as were required to place them unencumbered in the possession of his defenders. With the proceeds of the sale of his portion of the lands, Goddard was enabled to reinstate himself as proprietor of the *Maryland Journal*, and with various changes of partnership he continued to conduct his excellent newspaper in the town which once in his wrath he had described as "a Theatre of Anarchy and Licentiousness" until his final

departure from it in the year 1792. His last partner and his successor in the ownership of the newspaper was his brother-in-law, James Angell of Providence. In the year 1786, he had been married to a daughter of General James Angell of this city.

In the incidents which have been related here, William Goddard is presented to us as a man who possessed the courage to stand up for his principles against that most subtle form of attack, the disapproval of one's neighbors. One cannot doubt the passion which underlay his pronouncements concerning the liberty of the press; one must admire the hardihood with which he risked life, limb and happiness by giving himself to the vindication of General Charles Lee. Because of these incidents, he has been described by several writers as "Goddard the Tory," but when his utterances are read, the policy of his newspapers considered, his services in the establishment of the Post Office taken account of, one may not doubt his devotion to the American cause in the War of the Revolution. The Maryland Council of Safety, always ready to imprison or to banish the enemies of that cause, twice took sides against those who had attacked him. The Maryland Assembly put his enemies to inglorious rout. In all of the official proceedings which remain in connection with his several contacts with the state and national governments, there is no hint of an accusation of disloyalty against him, and his request that the Board of War appoint him to a post of danger speaks for the quality of his devotion in a manner more audible than the loudest asseverations of loyalty.

Goddard's farewell address to his fellow citizens of Baltimore reminds us of nothing so much as of those flowers which in the kindly spring cover the disorder of last year's battlefield. After relating with his customary frankness the financial difficulties which were leading him to dispose of his prosperous establishment, he concluded his valedictory with a shower of compliments and polite good wishes.

"Though there was a Moment," he wrote, "when political Discussions produced a Degree of Animosity and Resentment repugnant to my Feelings and injurious to my Interest, yet I

reflect with inexpressible satisfaction, that succeeding liberality and Candour soon obliterated the Remembrance, and that I shall now leave this Town in perfect Friendship and Harmony with my Fellow-Citizens—ardently wishing them a Continuance of that prosperity I have for so many Years witnessed, in the rapid Rise of this opulent Town, with equal Admiration and Delight.”

Goddard had determined to “cultivate his garden”; “contentment walks the unambitious plain,” he wrote, and weary with his struggle he retired to his wife’s farm in Rhode Island, where as “William Goddard of Johnston, yeoman,” he lived peacefully another twenty-four years. He served in the Rhode Island Legislature for a short time, but in general his interests were those of his farm and of his village. He died, aged seventy-seven years, in December, 1817. Isaiah Thomas, who knew him well in these later years, speaks of his “naïveté, and the pleasantness and facetiousness of his disposition.” One likes to take leave of him, unvexed and comfortable in his Rhode Island retreat, after so much distress of mind and so many exertions of body gone through with in his years of exile from the land of his deepest attachment.

Hope as the State’s Motto

We have of late had several inquiries in regard to the origin of the state’s motto. The first official recognition of the use of Hope as the motto of Rhode Island was in 1664 (R. I. Col. Rec. vol. II, p. 41). The anchor had been officially adopted as the colony’s device in 1647 (R. I. Col. Rec. vol. I, p. 151), and the biblical association of Hope with the anchor—“which hope we have as an anchor of the soul” (Heb. 6, 19)—doubtless led the early settlers of Rhode Island, men well acquainted with the wording of the old Testament, to adopt *Hope* as the motto. If the seals used by John Greene (R. I. H. S. C. XV:103) and

Benedict Arnold (R. I. H. S. C. XV:102) were discarded colony seals, as has been suggested, the use of *Hope* as a motto would go back to very early times, for John Greene used this seal as early as 1659. For further information on this subject, see Chapin's "The Seal, the Arms and the Flag of Rhode Island" and "Book Notes," vol. XXXI, p. 203, vol. XX, p. 26.

Notes

A NOTABLE CHANGE.

One of the most notable changes that has occurred during the past ten years is the increased use of the Society's library by college students. When the present librarian took up his duties here about a decade ago, a visit of the Professor of American History to the library was an unusual sight, and the use of the library by college students was almost unknown. Professor Sioussat, during his connection with Brown University, brought the History Department into closer touch with the Society, but it remained for Professor Crane to develop an extensive use of the Society's treasures by history students. Professor Crane aroused and encouraged the interest of college men (and women) in the field of American history, and has inspired several to undertake original research in the fascinating and largely unexplored field of eighteenth century American development. These students now visit the library often and stay long, delving into our extensive files of old newspapers and deciphering the sometimes intricate hand writing of our valuable manuscripts. The traditions of the "Golden Age" of Professor Jameson's days in Providence have been revived by Professor Crane, so that the students of the College on the Hill have entered upon a renaissance of historical activity and research.

The Newport Historical Society Bulletin for January contains a paper entitled "Historic Types of Newport Houses" by Mrs. William W. Covell.

"Further Letters on King Philip's War" is the title of the booklet issued by the Society of Colonial Wars in Rhode Island at its "December Court." The aim of these publications is to make accessible in print historical material that has not previously been printed. One of these letters is of particular interest locally, as it gives the exact number of houses in Providence that were burned by the Indians in King Philip's War.

Commodore Matthew C. Perry was born¹ in Newport and not in South Kingston, as is stated on page 32 of our last issue. The sentence beginning "The portrait" and ending with the words "Stewart Perry" should have been included in quotation marks as it was a copy of the account which accompanied the portrait. It was the tradition in that branch of the family and should have been so stated.

Miss Margaret Bingham Stillwell's pleasing biographical picture of General Rush C. Hawkins, which was printed in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, has been reprinted as a separate.

A typewritten genealogy of the Tillinghast family, 126 pages, has been presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Tillinghast Straight, and will be of great use to genealogists interested in that family.

¹Cf. Points of Historical Interest in the State of Rhode Island, pages 60 and 73.

Report of the Treasurer

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1923.

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., *Treasurer, in account with the RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.* For current account, viz.:

DR.

CASH ON HAND January 1, 1923

In Providence Institution for Savings.....	\$439 50	
" Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company.....	287 00	
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 1).....	1,775 58	
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 3).....	2,824 63	
" National Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	270 34	
" National Exchange Bank.....	202 86	
Checks	130 00	
		<hr/> \$5,929 91
Receipts from Annual Dues.....	\$1,980 60	
" " Books	20 40	
" " Expense Account (Refunds).....	2 00	
" " Interest and Dividends (including \$16.64 from 1922).....	4,097 52	
" " Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund Interest	29 66	
" " Investments	1,272 42	
" " Life Membership (F. J. Wilder; Eliza T. Newton).....	100 00	
" " Newspaper Account.....	332 11	
" " Publications	134 13	
" " Rental of Rooms.....	24 00	
" " Special Account No. 1.....	349 77	
" " Special Account No. 3 (Library Sale)	387 78	
" " Supplies	2 50	
" " State Appropriation.....	1,375 00	
" " Request of Robert P. Brown (Publi- cation Fund).....	2,000 00	
		<hr/> 12,107 89
		<hr/> \$18,037 80

CR.

Annual Dues.....	50
Ashes	60 50
Binding	175 67
Books	569 08
Electric Lighting.....	14 58
Exhibitions	191 21
Expenses	163 43
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund.....	17 00
Fuel	497 03
Gas	8 76
Grounds and Building.....	254 97
Insurance	225 00
Interest	179 27
Investments	4,214 02
Janitorial Services.....	412 20
Publications	729 39
Salaries	3,786 00
Special Account No. 1.....	532 19
Special Account No. 3.....	183 87
Supplies	301 62
Telephone	60 87
Water	8 00
Newspaper Account.....	351 59
	<hr/> \$12,936 75

CASH ON HAND December 31, 1923

In National Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	\$412 95
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 1).....	1,593 16
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 3—Library Sale).....	16 13
" National Bank of Commerce (Investment Account)	58 40
" Bonds of Government of Dominion of Canada— (Special Account No. 3—Library Sale)....	3,012 41
" Check and Money.....	8 00
	<hr/> 5,101 05
	<hr/> \$18,037 80

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., *Treasurer, in account with the* RHODE ISLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY 1, 1924.

LIABILITIES.

Grounds and Building.....	\$25,000 00
Permanent Endowment Fund:	
Samuel M. Noyes.....	\$12,000 00
Henry J. Steere.....	10,000 00
James H. Bugbee.....	6,000 00
Charles H. Smith.....	5,000 00
Charles W. Parsons.....	4,000 00
William H. Potter.....	3,000 00
Esek A. Jillson.....	2,000 00
John Wilson Smith.....	1,000 00
William G. Weld.....	1,000 00
Charles C. Hoskins.....	1,000 00
Charles H. Atwood.....	1,000 00
	<hr/> \$46,000 00
Publication Fund:	
Robert P. Brown.....	\$2,000 00
Ira B. Peck.....	1,000 00
William Gammell.....	1,000 00
Albert J. Jones.....	1,000 00
William Ely.....	1,000 00
Julia Bullock.....	500 00
Charles H. Smith.....	100 00
	<hr/> \$6,600 00
Life Membership Fund.....	4,850 00
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund.....	734 52
Special Account No. 1 (National Bank of Commerce).....	1,593 16
Special Account No. 3 (Library Sale) (National Bank of Commerce)	16 13
Special Account No. 3 (Library Sale) (In Bonds of Govern- ment of Dominion of Canada).....	3,012 41
	<hr/> \$87,806 22
Accumulated Surplus.....	10,594 86
	<hr/> \$98,401 08

ASSETS.

Investments :

Grounds and Building.....	\$25,000 00
\$5,000.00 Bonds, The New York Edison Com- pany, 6½'s, 1941.....	\$5,447 85
\$4,000.00 Bonds, Cedar Rapids Manufacturing & Power Company, 5's, 1953.....	3,228 88
\$3,400.00 Liberty Bonds (U. S.) 4th, 41/4, 1st 5½'s 1941.....	2,976 81
\$3,000.00 Bonds, Central Manufacturing District	3,000 00
\$3,000.00 Bonds, The Cleveland Electric Illumi- nating Company, 1st 5½'s, 1939..	2,565 42
\$1,000.00 Bond, Commonwealth Edison Company 1st 5's, 1943.....	965 25
\$1,000.00 Bond, Denver Gas & Electric Company 5½'s, 1949.....	950 00
\$1,000.00 Bond, Columbus Railway, Power & Light Company, 5's, 1940.....	970 00
\$1,000.00 Bond, The Government of the Dominion of Canada, 5%, 1952.....	991 50
\$1,000.00 Bond, Liberty Bond (U. S.), 2nd, 4¼	956 19
\$300.00 Bonds, United Electric Railways Prior Lien, 4's, 1946.....	231 27
Mortgage, P. A. and H. A. Cory.....	2,975 00
Participation Account in Industrial Trust Com- pany, Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	734 52
125 Shares, New York Central Railroad Company..	12,500 00
111 Shares, Pennsylvania Railroad Company.....	7,188 45
30 Shares, Lehigh Valley Railroad Company.....	2,112 50
6 Shares, Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company.....	241 85
40 Shares, Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company, preferred.....	3,900 00
55 Shares, American Telephone & Telegraph Com- pany	7,123 61
60 Shares, Providence Gas Company.....	5,005 68
30 Shares, Merchants National Bank, Providence...	1,800 00
45 Shares, Blackstone Canal National Bank, Provi- dence	1,050 00
6 Shares, Narragansett Electric Lighting Company	335 00
10 Shares, Union Tank Car, preferred, 7%.....	1,050 25
	<hr/> \$68,300 03

Cash on hand:

In National Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	\$412 95
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 1).....	1,593 16
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 3, Library Sale).....	16 13
" National Bank of Commerce (Investment Ac- count)	58 40
" Bonds, The Government of the Dominion of Canada, 5's, 1952 (Special Account No. 3, Library Sale).....	3,012 41
Check and Money.....	8 00
	<hr/> \$5,101 05
Total Assets.....	\$98,401 08

Respectfully submitted

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr.

Treasurer

Providence, R. I., January 2, 1924.

Examined vouchers and securities compared and found to agree.

HORATIO A. HUNT

ARTHUR P. SUMNER

HENRY W. SACKETT

Auditing Committee

The Memoranda of William Green

SECRETARY TO VICE-ADMIRAL MARRIOT ARBUTHNOT
IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

With introduction and notes by
HENRY S. FRASER OF ITHACA, N. Y.

INTRODUCTION

This fragment from the memoirs of William Green is published from a small notebook, the only one of several to survive. It was found by the editor in the possession of Green's descendants now living in Syracuse, N. Y.

William Green, the son of William Green of Yorkshire, England, was born July 22, 1754.¹ Nothing seems to be known of his early life and education. In 1778, after some years of service in the Royal Navy, he was recommended to be the secretary of Rear-Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot,² with whom he came to America in 1779 when the latter was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue and given the command of the British fleet on the American station. In addition to the position of secretary, Green was agent victualler for the fleet.³ This post, however, he later resigned,⁴ and was appointed a few weeks afterward (Aug. 29, 1780) to do duty as purser of the *Royal Oak*, Arbuthnot's flagship.⁵

¹The information about William Green in this Introduction has been derived, except where otherwise noted, from family papers in the possession of Messrs. Grant D. Green and Thomas MacGowan of Syracuse, N. Y., and of Captain C. Blunt of Banbury, England.

²See letter, Arbuthnot to Stephens, April 15, 1783. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

³C. M. Andrews, *Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain*, II, 57.

⁴*Vide infra.*

⁵List of promotions under Arbuthnot, Dec. 16, 1780. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

When the Admiral left America in July, 1781, he took Green to England with him to assist in investigating the public accounts of the station, a deputy being appointed to act during the interval in Green's stead as purser of the *Royal Oak*, which ship remained behind under Graves. While in England in 1783 Green received a letter from Sir Charles Douglas informing him of the desertion of the deputy and the appointment of another purser. In fear for his position Green sought an immediate passage to America to rejoin his ship, or if that were not practicable, to obtain a new appointment on another vessel of the navy.¹ Evidently he was unsuccessful, for in February, 1784, we find him bound to America to take out papers to cover a trading venture to India in his ship the *Hydra*.²

It was some time before this, after Green had just returned with Arbuthnot from the war, that he was married to Temperance Heatly in London, October 11, 1781. She was the daughter of Andrew Heatly of Newport, R. I., and was born in 1759 or 1760. She had come to England with her mother, *née* Mary Grant, after her father's death, and it was probably there that they first met. In her Green found "an incomparable sweetness of temper and a soul pious, pure, devout, spotless."

After Green had transacted in America the necessary business relative to his projected trip to India, he returned to England to make the final arrangements. The story of the voyage of the *Hydra* is described in detail in his memoirs, so it will be unnecessary to speak further of it here. Toward the end of the summer of 1786, Green sailed from America, whither he had come on the return voyage of the *Hydra*, for Ostend as supercargo of the brigantine *Betsey*. He returned to America in the following year.³ In the meantime, although absent in St. Eusta-

¹Arbuthnot to Stephens, April 15, 1783. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

²*Vide infra*.

³W. C. Ford, ed., *Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800*, II, 277-278, 286, 344. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. X.

tius, he had been naturalized a citizen of the United States (May, 1786).¹

Hoping for further profits in India, Green now undertook in conjunction with Thomas Fitzsimons of Philadelphia to finance a second venture, this time in the *Betsey*, Capt. Edward Kirkby. On this occasion Green elected to remain behind in America, trusting to the honesty of his Calcutta agent. The *Betsey* cleared out at Philadelphia in April, 1788, and sailed at once for India. But Green was destined to disappointment in the outcome of this venture, for instead of the expected profits, he encountered only losses. The cargo and ship were in such poor condition on arriving in the Ganges that the agent decided to sell both, greatly to the dismay of the captain who had engaged to sail the ship back to Philadelphia. The final result of these sales was anything but satisfactory to Green, his share being only 2943 Spanish milled dollars.

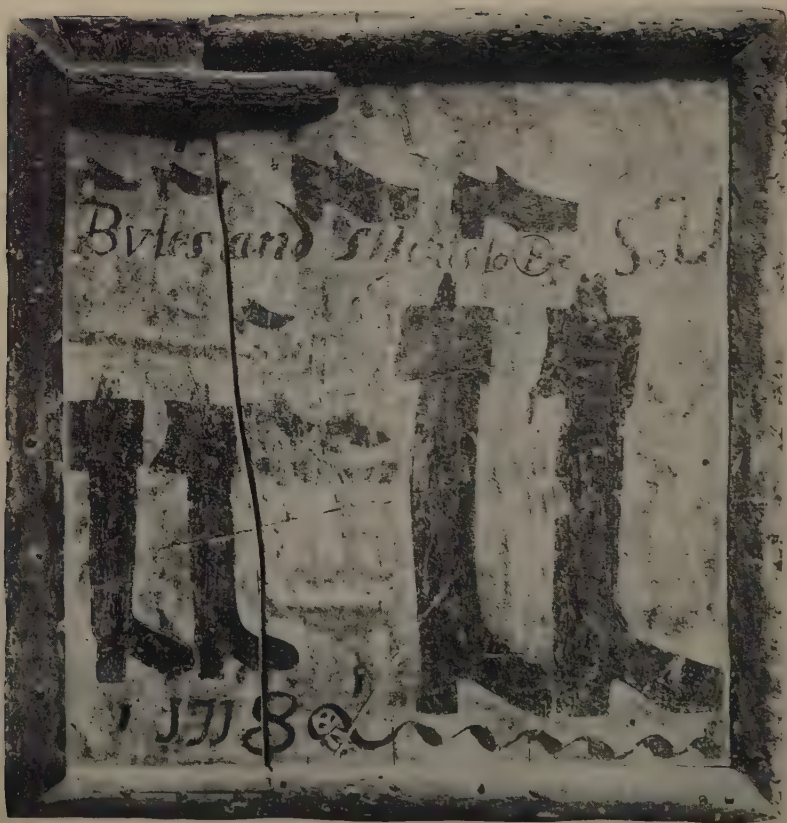
This was the beginning of the decline of Green's fortunes. He had purchased extensive tracts of territory on the Mohawk river, and also had a residence in New York City and an estate on Long Island at Flushing. In order to raise money he now mortgaged these lands to Patrick Heatly, his brother-in-law in London. In the latter part of 1798, Green fell into severe straits and was imprisoned for debt for about four years. Better times were in store, however, and some time after his release he removed with his family to his Mohawk lands near Oriskany. Here his wife died November 11, 1822. Green survived her by several years, finally passing away in or about the year 1835.

To the student of history the value of these notes by Green varies in different parts. They seem least valuable to the historian when the author discourses on his family affairs, but these occupy little space. Green is at his best when describing matters pertaining to the war in America; for example, the aftermath of the capture of Charleston in May, 1780; the blockade of the French fleet in the harbor of Newport; the strictures on Rodney; the battle between Arbuthnot and Destouches off Chesapeake

¹*Vide infra.*

Esquimaux, and *Virginia*, consisting of Salt-Petre, Cinnamon, Pepper, Arrack, Teas, Mullins of various fabrics and quantities, plain, painted, and embroidered White Cloths, Chintzes, Silk and Cotton Stuffs, and Cloths, Sattins, Taffeties, White Muslin Handkerchiefs, Silk Handkerchiefs, Printed Handkerchiefs, &c. &c. &c. taken on sole account and risque of CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN, Esq. of *New-Port aforesaid*, Mr. WILLIAM GREEN, *Supra* cargo.

SALT-Petre, 376,196 lbs.	Ditto Puta, 100 pieces,	Ditto Anand, 100 pieces,
Cinnamon, 25,536 lbs.	Ditto Callapaty, 700 pieces,	Silks and Sattin, 798 pieces,
Black Pepper, 11,284 lbs.	Ditto Chittabully, 100 pieces,	Chintz Doorea Pulia, 50 pieces,
Fine Old Batavia Arrack, 5,500 gallons,	Ditto Fine, 1300 pieces,	Ditto Bazary do. 3015 pieces,
Hylon Tea, 48 chests,	Ditto Boglipore, Buff colour and striped, 5010 pieces,	Ruffles wrought, 701 sets,
China Ware, 13 chests,	Ditto blue, 1522 pieces,	Charonnas, 605 pieces,
Mallacca Rattans, 1000 bundles,	Dooreas, 1530 pieces,	Emmerities, 1172 pieces,
White Muslin Handkerchiefs, 7679 pieces,	Ditto painted, superfine, fine, and middling, 1126 pieces,	Silk Taffeties, 437 pieces,
Bandanna handkerchiefs, 1196 pieces,	Coffees Chandpore, 700 pieces,	Silk Gauze, 358 pieces,
Sistermunny ditto, 759 pieces,	Ditto Sujapore, 256 pieces,	Doorea Coffida, 310 pieces,
Soottee handkerchiefs, 988 pieces,	Ditto Patna, 1296 pieces,	Humhums, 300 pieces,
Gillah ditto, 100 pieces,	Ditto superfine, 50 pieces,	Terendams, superfine, fine, and middling, 340 pieces,
Chandfey ditto, 60 pieces,	Mamoodies, 1201 pieces,	Malda Allachia, 247 pieces,
Carbfootes ditto, 872 pieces,	Serempore Chintz Dooreas, 1158 pieces,	Laccowrites, 200 pieces,
Tanjehs Teelba Ye, 483 pieces,	Gazina, 1036 pieces,	Teelbady Tanjehs Coffida, 200 pieces,
Ditto Patna, 6501 pieces,	Ginghams, 923 pieces,	Coffida, 113 pieces,
Chintz Patna, 3598 pieces,	Mulmulla Patna, 915 pieces,	Allabully, 100 pieces,
Ditto Madras, 552 pieces,	Ditto Soonargong, 100 pieces,	Terendam Coffida, 100 pieces,
Sannoes, 301 pieces,	Ditto Dockapra, 100 pieces,	Muslin gold, silver, and flowered, 80 pieces,
Battues, 2272 pieces,		Nyanlook Chandpore, 50 pieces,
Ditto Luckipore, 1300 pieces,		Bandries, 130 pieces,



Old Shop-sign dated 1718 and said to have hung above Waterman's shoe-shop on North Main Street, Providence.

Now in Museum of Rhode Island Historical Society

Bay, March 16, 1781; the character of Arbuthnot; and particularly, the treatment of American naval prisoners of war.

Green's account of the quarrel over the booty at Charleston between the army and navy is a real contribution to the history of this obscure episode, known chiefly through a controversial pamphlet published by Sir Henry Clinton in 1794. The paragraphs dealing with the blockade of the French throw an additional light on the relations between Clinton and Arbuthnot from the point of view of a confidant of the Admiral. Green's comments on Sir George Rodney, whom he met in New York, are of interest and further explain the bad feeling between Rodney and Arbuthnot. The importance of the naval engagement with Destouches off the Chesapeake does not need to be emphasized, —it probably prolonged the war, for if the French had been able to get into the Bay and land their troops to co-operate with Lafayette, it is possible that Arnold would have met with defeat. The character of Arbuthnot may now perhaps be better judged than ever before as a result of the statements of his secretary. It is difficult to recognize in Green's narrative the "coarse, blustering, foul-mouthed bully" portrayed in the Dictionary of National Biography. Rather, Arbuthnot appears as an old man, perhaps not the most efficient type of sea commander, but certainly not meriting in his personal character the harsh judgment sometimes passed upon him.¹ In regard to the American naval prisoners and their treatment on board the prison ships, Green has much to say. As agent victualler in 1779 and 1780, he was in close touch with the prison ships and could therefore speak with some authority.

The long account of his trading venture to India supplements the letters concerning this same voyage recently edited by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.² Green's narrative serves as an expo-

¹Robert Biddulph, a lad of eighteen, who accompanied Arbuthnot's fleet to America in 1779, pronounced him "for his age one of the pleasantest men I ever saw." Letters of Robert Biddulph, 1779-1783, *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1923, XXIX, 88.

²*Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800*, Vol II. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. X.

sition of some of the devious methods by which interlopers in the East India Company's monopoly evaded the English law. Furthermore, it shows what enormous profits awaited the shrewd merchant who was sufficiently brave to face both the legal dangers and the perils of a possibly unruly crew. Green is a good writer, and his graphic descriptions of the outward voyage, his reception at Calcutta, and the mutiny on the return trip read like an adventurous romance.¹

It has not been possible to date exactly the composition of the memoirs. The latest event directly mentioned is the Battle of the Nile in Abukir Bay. This would throw the date of the MS. at least after 1798. But there is strong reason for putting it considerably later. Green states that the subject of the treatment of American naval prisoners by the British "was raked up again from the mire of oblivion to serve the purposes of a half-crazy democracy in the city of New York." This probably refers to the sensational funeral in 1808 in honor of the victims of the prison ships. This is as late as we may place the date with any certainty.

There are, however, some slight indications of still later composition. If, as suggested in a subsequent note, Green confused Sir Rupert George and Sir Rupert Dennis George, he must have written as late as 1814; if his scorn for America's "ostentatious gratitude" to Lafayette was excited by Lafayette's tour in the United States, he cannot have written before 1824 or 1825. And the placing of the Battle of the Nile "thirty years" (instead of eighteen) after 1780 perhaps suggests a date of composition at least as late. But all this is conjecture. No more seems provable than that the memoirs apparently were set down sometime between 1808 and 1835, the date of Green's death.

¹It may very well be that Green's ship, the *Hydra*, was the first to fly American colors in the Bay of Bengal. Mr. T. E. V. Smith states that "in May 1789 a vessel returned to New York which had been the first to display the American flag in the River Ganges and to trade there." But the *Hydra* had preceded this ship by about four years. T. E. V. Smith, *The City of New York in the Year of Washington's Inauguration 1789*, p. 104.

It has not seemed desirable always to reproduce the text precisely as it stands in the MS. Green had a habit of joining three or four sentences of ordinary length by the repeated use of "and"; it therefore seemed best to divide them. Misspelled words have been corrected, the original capitalization of words has not always been retained, commas have been inserted when the obvious sense required them; but in one or two cases, where the sense was doubtful, the original punctuation has been followed and the fact noted. The aim throughout has been to facilitate the reading of the memoirs, but never at the risk of misrepresenting Green's intention.

THE MEMORANDA OF WILLIAM GREEN

In number 2 of these memoranda at the close I referred to the present for a statement of some circumstances relative to the sales and distribution of the proceeds of the ships of war and merchant vessels of every description included in the term *marine*, which were surrendered to us at the close of the siege of Charlestown in South Carolina in May, 1780, and taken possession of as prizes by officers appointed by the Admiral.¹ The city had capitulated to the army under Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., General, &c. &c., and to Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, commander in chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed and to be employed on the coasts of North America. Every species of public property was to be given up to the captors, and Sir Henry appointed Commissaries² on the part of the army to receive and take charge of the artillery, arms, military stores, tents, camp equipage, and property of every description which that capitulation comprehended in that capital on shore. What became of it or how it was disposed of, I was never informed, and never knew, but the naval captures were deemed subject to the jurisdiction of the nearest Court of Admiralty at New York,

¹Vice-Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot. See Introduction, p. 54.

²The Commissaries of captures were James Moncrief, George Hay, and James Fraser. See Clinton's letter of appointment, Feb. 13, 1780. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, American MSS. in Royal Institution, II, 89.

and there libelled and condemned as prizes to the navy, and the avails distributed to the officers and seamen according to law.¹

No claim to any part of the property taken on shore and in charge of the Commissaries appointed by Sir Henry Clinton was ever made on the part of the Admiral, or others, or received by them, or the avails of it, or by any one of them, which I presume, however, were shared in the army agreeably to some custom as to plunder or booty, of the nature and extent of which I am ignorant; yet there being in both services, and perhaps in all classes of society, individuals usually denominated busybodies who possess, or suppose themselves to possess, superior talents, and supply, at least in some degree, deficiencies in good sense and sound judgment by the arts of insinuation and ingratiating, so we had with us a Captain Henry Francis Evans,² an officer of some merit and address and a better education than usual among sea officers, but of an unhappy, unquiet, and restless temper, yet not unskilled and unpractised in those arts.

It seemed that some of the military entertained an opinion that the place having capitulated to the army and fleet the whole property so taken, as well ashore as afloat, should be thrown into a common mass and shared between them; and having got hold of Captain Evans, they found in him a convenient and ready instrument to broach and propagate such a sentiment among some of his brother officers. But to any such arrangement there were insurmountable objections, for no law of England authori-

¹Public notices appointing days for the distribution of the "shares of the first proportion of sundry vessels taken at Charlestown" began to appear in the New York newspapers in February, 1781, and continued from time to time for some months. Some of these notices were signed by Green and some by Green and Samuel Kemble (see p. 61, n.). They are interesting as confirming Green's statement here in his memoirs, and also as showing that the navy was not backward in getting its share of the proceeds from the spoils. See *The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, Feb. 5, April 16, 1781; *The Royal Gazette*, (N. Y.), May 9, 1781.

²Captain of the *Raisonnable* until transferred to the *Charlestown*, late the *Boston*, an American ship captured at the fall of Charleston. Robert Beatson, *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783*, VI, 204, 209.

zes an army to despoil her enemies, and all enemy's property which the accidents of war may subject to its power of every description is deemed to belong to the King, and may subsequently be disposed of at his royal pleasure by Order of Council. If it could have applied in this case, which must be a matter of infinite doubt, in a civil war it might have been attended by years of delay and a heavy expense utterly out of proportion to the object, and after all of uncertain issue as to the parties. But the case with the navy was altogether different: the course to be pursued was legally and distinctly marked out, the mode, extent, and proportion of distribution fixed from the Admiral to the cook's mate by laws and usages established for many years.

Whilst the pursers were employed as deputy agents to realize the property so acquired on the part of the navy, Samuel Kemble, Esq., of New York,¹ the brother-in-law of Lieutenant General Gage, and myself being the principal agents, and I the only acting one present, I received a letter from Captain Evans remonstrating as I understood on the part of an army committee against the proceedings then going on in relation to the prizes. It was sufficiently insolent and contained some unfounded insinuations, and though not so intended, it certainly put me under a very great obligation to him, for it placed me on my guard. He did not name the members of this committee nor of any other officer of the fleet who concurred with him in opinion or authorized his remonstrance in any manner,² and I then

¹Eldest son of Peter Kemble and Gertrude, daughter of Samuel Bayard of New York. He was born at New Brunswick, N. J., about 1732. In 1773 he was appointed Naval Officer of New York. He sailed to England in 1783 and later to the East Indies, dying in the island of Sumatra about 1796. His sister, Margaret, married General Thomas Gage, Dec. 8, 1758. J. A. Stevens, Jr., *Colonial New York. Sketches Biographical and Historical, 1768-1784*, p. 139. Cf. *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, IX, 151.

²The naval committee was probably that composed of Andrew Barklay, Henry Francis Evans, and J. Orde. Sir Henry Clinton, *Memorandums, &c. &c. respecting the unprecedented treatment which the army have met with respecting plunder taken after a siege, and of which plunder the navy serving with the army divided their more than ample share, now fourteen years since*, pp. 16, 21.

thought, as I now do, and so have at all times since, that no such committee ever had any regular appointment or existence on the part of the army in South Carolina,¹ and that his letter might have been written in consequence of some loose conversation between him and some of the military officers and the morbid action of his own busy meddling temper, in order by exciting a dispute to make himself of some consequence. His letter was answered with civility, which it did not deserve, and he was informed that all the funds which had come to my hands, (principally bills of exchange drawn on the Commissioners of the navy board for the purchase of the frigates and armed vessels taken into the King's service), would be immediately forwarded to the coagent in New York, Mr. Kemble, and directions given to the subagents there to remit to him all avails they might then have in their hands, or which they might have thereafter, to be disposed of according to law; and I did so, reserving only my commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the amount, which was truly all the benefit or advantage that I derived from the transaction.

If the army really had any right to divide equally with the navy upon this occasion, it must have been from a convention previously made under proper and lawful authority, which was not the case, although it may with an appearance of reason be allowed that such a claim was equitable; however this might be, it was never openly made to my knowledge nor any hint of it ever given to me, except by the letter of Captain Evans as beforementioned. He lost his life in action with a French frigate in Boston Bay some months afterwards,² and I never heard any more of it, except that if he had lived to arrive in England some legal steps would have been attempted in relation thereto. Yet upon what lawful basis such an attempt could have been

¹The army committee was probably that composed of Colonel Westenhagen, *et al.* Sir Henry Clinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 23.

²Captain Evans was killed July 21, 1781 in an engagement with two French frigates off Cape Breton Island, when he was on his way with a fleet of merchantmen to load coals. Beatson, V, 303-304. W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, IV, 71.

made I am quite at a loss to imagine.¹ I am nevertheless very sensible that this naval appropriation occasioned some jealousy and murmuring among the redcoats, and that it was attributed as a contrivance of mine carried into effect by my influence over the mind of the Admiral, but such an opinion was totally

¹The facts of the case seem to be these. Representatives of both the army and navy met to agree upon such partition of the spoils as might be equitable between the two services. They differed in their opinions and the matter was consequently referred to the King. Clinton to Germain, June 3, 1780. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, American MSS. in Royal Institution, II, 136; the letter is printed in Clinton's *Memorandums*, pp. 4-5. The King apparently delayed his decision, and Green in the meantime disposed of a quantity of the booty on the part of the navy. This occasioned some correspondence between Clinton and Arbuthnot, which, however, led to nothing. The entire matter was taken up in England after the war, and it was found that George Hay, one of the Charleston Commissaries of captures appointed by Clinton, had retained £9200, and was unable to pay it on demand because "rendered utterly incapable by most unforeseen losses and misfortunes." The affair occasioned so much ire that Clinton felt himself compelled in 1794 to publish his pamphlet, cited above, to clear his own name, in which booklet he printed the correspondence on the subject.

A similar dispute, but unconnected with the Charleston episode, occurred a year later, when Clinton wrote to Germain that the army by the advice of lawyers had libelled the last captures made solely by them in the Chesapeake in the King's name. This was done, said Clinton, because the navy officials had taken steps calculated to deprive the army of their rights. Arbuthnot's reply to a letter from Stephens on the subject was very much to the point. He granted that the steps taken by the army were justifiable, if Clinton had correctly given the state of affairs, and then went on to say: "My answer is that I have never in the smallest degree presumed to interfere with respect to prizes of any kind; I have always considered the result of captures when regularly condemned, (and no appeal lodged against the decision of the court), as a legal property provided for by law, in consequence of our most Gracious Sovereign's generosity to his fleet. I have been so delicate upon this head, three or four captains excepted, I have never mentioned the name of an agent, but have always left them in this respect to be the parent of their own works, and have received my part in due time of those captures as aforesaid, without asking the smallest question." Clinton to Germain, July 18, 1781; Arbuthnot to Stephens, Nov. 10, 1781. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcripts.

About three months before Arbuthnot quitted America, he instructed Green, as his secretary, to write as follows to S. S. Blowers, solicitor general of the Province of New York: "His Excellency, however, directs me to make one general observation with respect to property captured on the water, under every possible circumstance, he considers it to be only cognizable in the Court of Admiralty and not by him." Dated April 19, 1781. Colonial Office, 5: 82. L. C. Transcript.

unfounded;¹ yet I had all the odium of it, and as my humble origin and education was well known, for how could it be otherwise, advantage was taken of it to attach to me a stigma which might not have fallen upon one of a gentlemanly birth and more liberal bringing up and breeding as well as fashion and will ever be held in high consideration.²

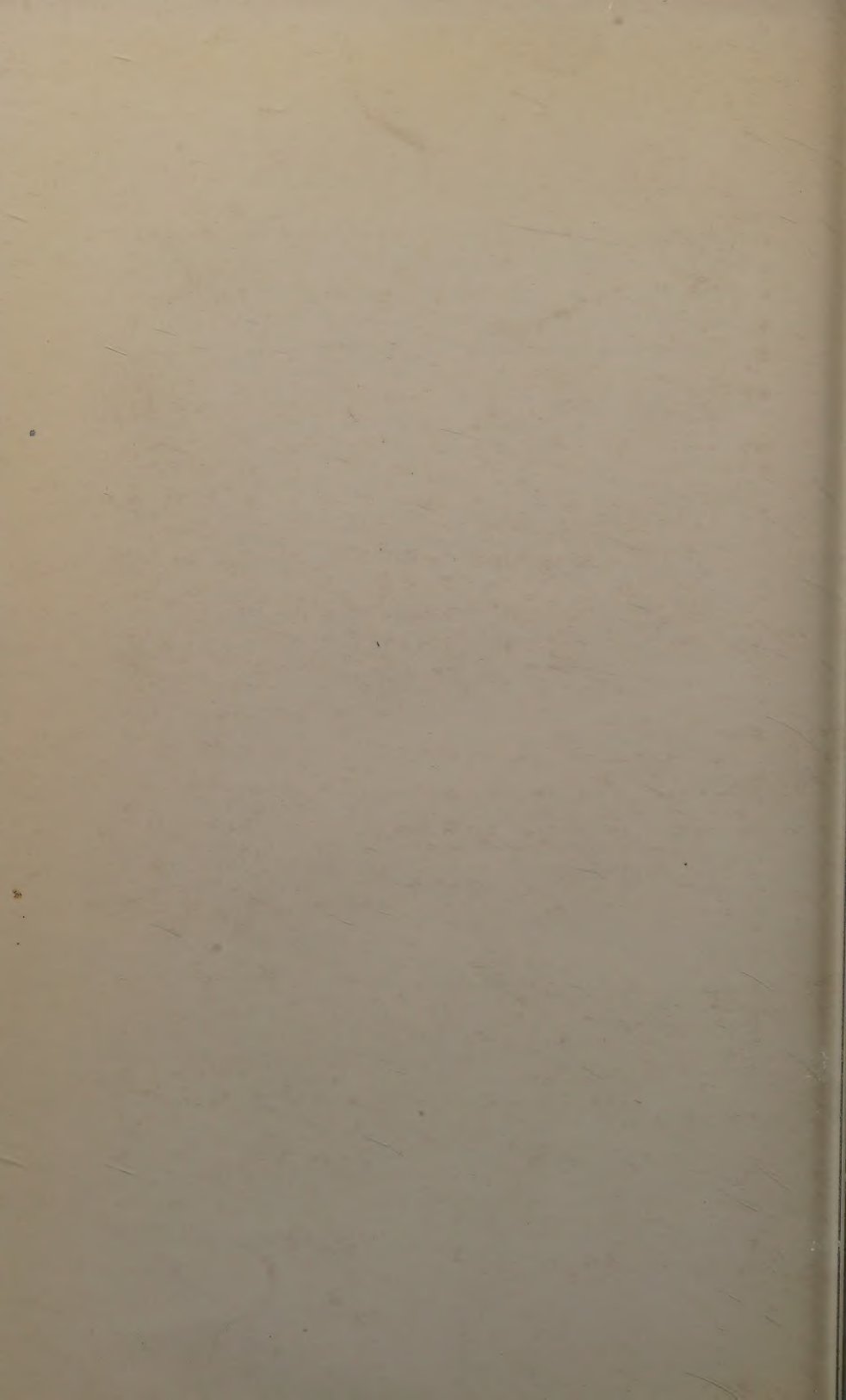
I have been induced to go more into detail into this subject than may be thought needful, as the consequences of this odium were felt by me severely long after the cessation of its immediate and active operation, and were in some degree influential in promoting my final settlement in America, yet ever retaining the most ardent and affectionate attachment to the land of my birth, which in the fields of glory reaped so ample an harvest.

As the presence of the commanders in chief in Carolina became unnecessary after the reduction of Charlestown, they both in a few weeks after returned to New York, Earl Cornwallis with the rank of Lieutenant General being left with a competent military force to prosecute the further subjugation of the southern colonies, seconded by a competent naval force of frigates, sloops of war, and galleys.

(To be continued.)

¹Nevertheless, at least one man mentioned Green's influence over his Admiral. Sir Henry Clinton wrote the following note on the margin of one of the copies of his *Narrative*: "I had requested the recall of Admiral Arbuthnot, a fine, brave, superannuated old gentleman, who saw, heard, and acted by his secretary." B. F. Stevens, *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 46, n.

²Perhaps Green meant to write: "more liberal bringing up and breeding, as fashion will ever be held in high consideration."



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Vol. 17, no. 3-4 July-Oct. 1924

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THE FOLLOWING ISSUES ARE NOT
AVAILABLE:

Vol. 17, no. 2-4 July-Oct. 1937

OUT OF PRINT

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